

# **This is not the end, my only friend**

A research into motivations of The Doors' fans to visit Jim Morrison's grave at Père-Lachaise.



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### **Abstract**

Death-related tourism, or often called dark tourism, has attracted the attention of many scholars. Different theories try to explain why tourists want to visit dark places. Yet, actual motivations to participate in the subfield grave tourism remain under-examined. An interesting example of grave tourism are the millions of tourists that visit Père-Lachaise in Paris each year. Many famous people are buried in this cemetery, including Jim Morrison. In 1971 he was buried there, and the grave of the lead singer of famous band The Doors is the most visited grave worldwide. However, the motivations of fans of The Doors to visit his grave have not been researched. What motivates international fans of The Doors to visit Jim Morrison's grave at Père-Lachaise in Paris? Researching motivations is a fundamental task to get a greater understanding of this dark tourism practice.

Qualitative research methods have been chosen to fill the gap in the literature, since there has been much written about the practices of fan-tourists. Until now, the actual motivations or experiences of these people have often been generalised, so by conducting thirteen interviews, a voice will be given to these people. The results of this study show that the fans had a wish for several years to see Morrison's grave themselves. One of the main motivations is to further expand their para-social relation at the site, as for many of the fans it is the only way to meet and thank Morrison personally for his art. Many of the fans have been following The Doors after Morrison died, so they feel his auratic presence at the gravesite. Paying respects or taking a photo with the grave is important for them, it connects them even more to him as a person. The fans' visual observations of the site, such as the graffiti or overall state of the grave, were disappointing. They expected more spectacle, because of Morrison's association with rock and roll. However, seeing many other fans at the grave was received well and gave physical form to the community that is normally invisible. Being able to talk about Morrison to other fans and connecting with them was an important motivation to travel. Being at a cemetery did confront the visitors with death, and this draws back to the theory of Seaton about dark tourism, but the visitors also became more aware of human mortality and made them think about life. In terms of the reflection, the visit provided an opportunity to be confronted with personal catharsis and it was even experienced as a rite of passage into a deeper layer of the fandom.

**Keywords:** Dark tourism, cemeteries, death, celebrity graves, motivations

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## **Foreword**

I would like to thank everybody that supported me during the process of writing my thesis. Especially Annaclaudia Martini and my parents. To Annaclaudia Martini, I feel very lucky to work with somebody who is so incredibly smart. Thank you for sharing you knowledge, guidance and support through this process. I am fortunate to have your critical attitude in my corner and always trying to raise the bar within my writing. My dear parents, Perry and Astrid, who always believed in me and had confidence in my skills. I cannot express enough how thankful I am for showing me what I can do. Always willing to help with anything, the best support that anyone could ever ask for. As for my friends and beach-family, thank you for your inexhaustible interest and encouragement. Lastly, I am thankful for all the participants who were willing to be interviewed, I enjoyed every second of the conversations we had. Break on through to the other side!

## Introduction

An important development in the tourism industry is the growing interest in dark tourism. This phenomenon is a type of tourism whereby people visit sites and attractions that are associated with real or recreated death and suffering (Stone, 2006). These places keep on teasing our imagination about this dark topic, and they attract many tourists all around the world. Different theories try to explain the motivations of the tourists that visit dark places, some, for example, claiming that the participants would have a desire to get close to death (Seaton, 2009). This makes it different from other types of tourism. The broad umbrella of dark tourism -which includes a bit of everything, from concentration camps to the Dracula Castle in Transylvania- includes also visits to cemeteries, as one of the ways to satisfy the desire to come into close contact with death and the mystery surrounding it.

Père-Lachaise in Paris is a famous cemetery, and a popular tourist attraction (Raine, 2013). It has already attracted visitors from all around the world since the early nineteenth century (Davidson & Gitlitz, 2002). With two million visitors each year, Père-Lachaise is considered the most visited burial ground worldwide (Venbrux, 2010). It is the resting place of many famous people, such as Frédéric Chopin, Édith Piaf and Jim Morrison. The latter was the lead singer of famous band The Doors and a poet. It is assumed that his grave is the most sought out grave in the world (Tomašević, 2018). Even roughly 50 years after Morrison's death, thousands of people visit his grave on a daily basis (Giampaoli, 2012). It is relevant to take into account that Père-Lachaise is a famous tourist attraction on its own, and many people visit Morrison's grave because it is at this location. Nevertheless, many fans of The Doors travel to the cemetery especially for Morrison. It is clear that this is a relevant topic, as Morrison still holds a celebrity status in contemporary society and his grave attracts the attention of many people.

Morrison has a minimalistic grave, not something that might be expected when paying a visit to a famous tourist attraction. The modesty is even more striking when it is compared to other well-known graves, such as Jimi Hendrix' at Greenwood Memorial Park or Oscar Wilde's at Père-Lachaise. Hitherto, the motivations of fans of The Doors to visit the lead vocalist's grave have not been researched yet. The research question central in this thesis therefore is: What motivates international fans of The Doors to visit Jim Morrison's grave at Père-Lachaise in Paris? Researching motivations is a fundamental task to get a better understanding of dark tourism practices (Stone, 2006). The motivations to visit the grave of other celebrities, such as Marilyn Monroe, have been researched before (Baidwan, 2015). This research will add to current academic debates on dark tourism, by analyzing the motivations of fans to visit the grave of their idol. This aspect of

dark tourism has been under-examined, but it is indeed very relevant, as it involves, next to dark tourism, studies into fan culture and overlaps in some instances with the field of music tourism. Moreover, it builds upon a longer historical tradition of visiting the gravesites of cherished authors, philosophers, leaders, kings and queens. The results may also contribute to understanding why such a large number of people visit Morrison's grave each year.

In chapter 1 will the research questions and my hypothesis be explained. The literature review in chapter 2 will discuss important concepts and theories that are part of the academic debates in fan tourism, dark tourism and tourism motivations. In chapter 3 are the qualitative research methods discussed, as I have conducted semi-structured interviews with thirteen fans of The Doors that have visited the gravesite. In the next chapter are the ethics and positionality explained because qualitative data collection, that involves human participants, brings different challenges. In chapter 5 is a short overview of the demographic information of interviewees given. This chapter is followed by the chapter with the results, and is divided into the following subchapters: Before the visit, during the visit, and after the visit. The discussion and conclusion will link the findings to the discussed literature.

## Chapter 1. Research questions

The main research question guiding this thesis is: What motivates international fans of The Doors to visit Jim Morrison's grave at Père-Lachaise in Paris? This question is relevant as there has been no detailed examination of the motivations to be in physical proximity of Morrison's grave and the experiences that people have. Together with the main question, I devised two sub-questions to get a full understanding of the practices of fans at Morrison's grave. The first question is: What are the fans' experiences during the visit? The second sub-question is: What meanings do they ascribe to their experience after the visit? Together with the main question will this give an overall picture of the practices before, during and after the visit.

First, I can hypothesize that fans are motivated to visit the gravesite of Jim Morrison because they want to experience and see the location themselves. A sense of curiosity and seeing with their own eyes is what drives them to the gravesite. It is to be expected that the fans will mention the auratic presence at the grave (Seaton, 2009). This personal attraction to Morrison will probably go together with the desire to remember, understand and grieve at his grave. The motivation to come closer to death might also be relevant for such tourists, even though it might be present on a more unconscious level. Their main motivation would be feeling closer to their idol, Jim Morrison.

Since Morrison's grave is the most visited grave in the world, there are hardly moments when there are not multiple visitors at the side. The opportunity to celebrate Morrison's life together with other fans is possibly also an important motivation. Sharing an experience on location with other people is often more meaningful and special than being alone. Being together with people that have similar interests also adds value. They can talk for example about Morrison or the music of The Doors. If there has been an interaction with other fans, the experience has presumably been positively influenced.

The experience will also be shaped by the visual sight of the grave and its surroundings. Fans at Morrison's grave added graffiti to adjacent graves. The fans that do not draw graffiti on the graves may find it offensive. The grave has also been cordoned off with fences a few meters around Morrison. This prevents people from getting physically close to it, and thus touching the grave is not easy. It is plausible to state this physical distance affects the perception of the auratic presence. Not being able to get close might make the fans feel more detached from Morrison. The fences might have an impact on the tourist experience, hindering its positive outcome.

Lastly, I can hypothesize that the fans reflect positively on their experience. It is something important that they want to see, so after they have been there it might feel like

an accomplishment. They can feel proud and pleased to have experienced the place themselves and not only see it in photos or videos.



## **Chapter 2. Literature review**

This study borrows from research areas connected to the broader field of tourism studies. It is grounded in the main debates and theories about the dark tourism spectrum, motivations to participate in dark tourism and the postmodernist search for spectacle. To gain a deeper understanding in the ways in which a person gives meaning to the experiences they have at the gravesite, this study is also informed by a broader framework that borrows from studies on tourism motivation and tourist experiences. Then, in this literature review I focus on a specific subfield of dark tourism, which is grave tourism. When studying tourist motivations to visit dark tourism sites, it can also be useful to consider the concept of 'ultimate Other' (Seaton, 2009), as it refers to the desire to be in the vicinity of death and people that passed away. The ultimate Other, in explaining a desire to be close to someone that has passed, also relates to the concept of 'auratic presence' (Seaton, 2009), which denotes a feeling, an atmosphere that is palpable in the presence of a dead person or a place where death resides. It can be felt as an aura that is directly associated with a deceased individual, as if their presence is still somehow perceived in their resting place. These are subjective experiences, so not everyone may experience the auratic presence. This literature review also briefly covers studies on celebrity tourism and fan culture, since they are central in understanding some of the motivations to visit the grave of a celebrity.

### **2.1 From dark tourism to grave tourism**

Foley and Lennon came up with the term dark tourism in 1996 (Pécsek, 2015). Yet, they were not the first to look into this phenomenon. Death-related tourism has notably been researched in the field of heritage tourism, commonly named dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). The management and visitors of war sites, such as battlefields, are also prominent themes (Sharpley, 2009). Another leading scholar that focused on this phenomenon is Seaton (1996). His application of the concept only concentrates on the motivation to see real or imagined death and to reflect on death, referred to as 'thanatourism' (Seaton, 1996, p. 234). Foley and Lennon (1996) on the other hand apply a wider scope with their definition, and refer to consuming places that are associated with real or imagined death and suffering in contemporary times.

Visits to dark places are not a recent phenomenon. Ever since people have been traveling, they have been traveling to events or locations that are linked to death, atrocities, and disasters (Sharpley, 2009). Well-known examples are the gladiator fights in the Roman Republic or public executions that drew large audiences in eighteenth century

England. Similarly, historical locations like the pyramids could potentially be considered as dark sites, as their function is that of burial places. However, these sites are not considered dark tourism, as today they are usually not visited because of their “dark” attributes, but mainly for their historical and heritage value. However, Roman games and pyramids are potentially considered sites of thanatourism, as Seaton’s definition of it implies a different temporality, which is not limited to contemporary attractions (Light, 2017).

Cemeteries and grave tourism have been locations of interest for travellers for centuries. Since their popularity still persists in contemporary tourism, they are commonly considered part of the dark tourism umbrella. This of course includes Morrison’s grave. According to the ‘shades of darkness’ spectrum (Stone, 2006, p. 146), one of the leading theoretical frameworks to allocate the supply side of dark tourism, cemeteries are in the middle of the spectrum, as they contain light as well as dark factors. The infrastructure of cemeteries, such as guided tours or websites, has improved over the past two decades. These entrainment elements are what Stone (2006) would define as the light aspects. On the other side are the people visiting interested to be near deceased people, which relates to the darker aspects. However, this framework has been critiqued in the academic debates about dark tourism (Ashworth & Isaac, 2015; Light, 2017), as the shades model is based on the characteristics of the location itself, and does not consider the agency of visitors. This research uses a more critical approach to dark tourism studies, which gives central stage to the motivations of people, and assesses darkness in accordance not to the location itself, but on how people experience the location.

Much of the research that has been done on grave tourism refers to the cultural heritage of these places, such as big monumental graves (Huggins, 2012). People are motivated to visit a cemetery as if it is a museum (Tomašević, 2018). A visit to a buried celebrity gives the cemetery a memorable socio-cultural dimension. Places like these can also hold an auratic presence (Seaton, 2009). It is a quality that makes a place unique, in which, in the case of places related to death, people can often feel the presence of the deceased person. This aura, or atmosphere of a place, is often described by visitors as respectful, or somber (Foley & Lennon, 1996). When it comes to dead celebrities, their bones or spirit can have a mystical allurement for fans (Henning, 2002). This atmosphere is often spiritual or imagined. Additionally, fans can feel an imagined relation with their cherished idol at home. This is called a para-social connection, their idol feels like a friend or family member (Laing & Frost, 2018).

## 2.2 Exploring motivations in dark tourism experiences

Wanting to feel this proximity to the deceased idol in the form of the auratic presence has yet to be defined as an important motivator for dark tourism experiences. The concept of tourist experience is important to consider, as looking at tourist experiences can tell us something about how tourists behave, and why they behave in a certain way. Tourists often have their own subjective experiences, as they are individual people and they assign various meanings to their experiences (Uriely, 2005). There is not one typical way in which tourists experience a place, they all have their own physical, spiritual or intellectual experience (Dixit, 2020). However, it is stated that being in a dark tourism place often leads to emotional involvement and can cause reactions like crying or feeling somber (Osbaldiston & Petray, 2011). When the emotional response to a dark place is felt strongly enough, tourists could also experience powerful reactions such as catharsis. In fact, visiting a dark tourism site can be an opportunity for relief, or to release emotions or tensions, and thus healing (Light, 2017). This is usually a by-product, but gives the experience a unique character that can shape the meaning of the tourist experience (Causevic & Lynch, 2011). On a personal level tourists can find meaning in their lives at these sites, for the reason that it provides a moment of self-reflection (Martini & Buda, 2020). In addition to emotional catharsis, it can also provide social catharsis, that is when tourists have interaction and talk to other people about their personal catharsis (Causevic & Lynch, 2011). A lot of theory is published on this subject of experiences (Seaton, 2002; Tomašević, 2018; Dixit, 2020), but research about the actual practices is still lacking.

While there is some work on dark tourism motivations (Seaton, 1999; Podoshen, 2013; Biran & Buda, 2018) the motivation of people to participate in grave tourism, aimed at visiting celebrity graves, is under-examined. Grave tourism has its specificities as it often mixes dark tourism experiences with fan culture and celebrity culture. Nowadays, we live in an era characterized by globalization, where information is widespread and accessible also as a virtual “non-place” in which information about celebrities are more widespread. This social and cultural phenomenon is defined as ‘postmodern society’ (Sharpley, 2018). This pervasiveness of information on celebrities, especially through pictures, videos, social media, comes with a certain entitlement to their private life, and that makes fans feel closer to them. Tourism is not immune to these processes, and visits to places where celebrities live, have lived and died have become more and more common. Moreover, according to previous studies, gaining new experiences is an important motivation to travel (Podoshen, 2013). As postmodernism relies heavily on visibility, tourists also experience places mainly

visually, so they prefer places that have a lot of visible opportunity for spectacle (Sharpley, 2018).

An influential theory that explains the motivation to participate in dark tourism is that humans would have a desire to come into contact with death because this is the ultimate Other (Seaton, 2009). Death has become something that we are unfamiliar with in Western society because it has been abstracted from our daily lives (Giddens, 1991). Death is constrained to hospitals and almost invisible in society at large (Walter, 2006). At the same time death has become omnipresent in media discourse, forensic or crime shows on television, reports in the news. Open casket photos of celebrities are well known examples of death in the media (Young & Light, 2016). As a result of the abstraction and overexposure in the media, people have less knowledge about what real death feels like. Correspondingly, religious meta-narratives have less influence on people, and this increases the barrier between being alive and dying, these or often portrayed as opposites. In contemporary society, it could be argued that by visiting cemeteries people can satisfy their desire to be close to death and its enigma. The ultimate Other is not a theory that all academics agree upon. In fact, Biran, Poria, and Oren (2011) argue that tourists who visit dark places are not looking for an experience related to death, but rather seek understanding and a connection to the history and story that a place represents. More specially, in this framework death is amongst the many motivations that tourists can have, but it is not considered the core motivator (Nawijn & Biran, 2019). Even at the base of the fascination with death, people still have the need to understand and feel connected. The primary motivation seems to be the desire to feel emotions, whether positive or negative. At a superficial level, so-called negative emotions seem to be the main driver for dark tourism experiences (Nawijn & Biran, 2019). Emotions are defined as short-lived reactions to a particular environment. Negative or sad emotions are not always undesired, and can give way to positive ones. For example, negative emotions at dark tourism sites such as sadness or fear can foster empathy and understanding, as well as personal growth (Nawijn & Biran, 2019). Dark tourism is here framed as a behavioral phenomenon, oriented by tourists' agency and motivations to experience emotions. This behavioural framework is more in line with the purpose of this thesis, which will consequently analyse the collected data following this behavioural approach, as it covers both the dark tourism aspect, and can accommodate the celebrity aspect of it.

### **2.3 Celebrity and fan culture in tourism experiences**

Since 1990 there has been increasingly more interest in graves of celebrities and these

places are becoming tourist attractions (Rojek, 1993). It is not only part of dark tourism, but also of celebrity tourism (Soligo & Dickens, 2020). In the first place, the death of a celebrity would be the motivation to visit their grave. However, collectively mourning and celebrating the life and death of a celebrity is an important impulse (Sharpley, 2005). Cemeteries can be considered as performative places where fans can do commemorative acts and rituals (Young & Light, 2016). Fans that make this pilgrimage are at these sites for remembrance, understanding, learning, and feeling a connection (Light, 2017). Fans could also regard the visit as a rite of passage. In that case, the fan might feel that their social status inside the fandom has increased, and that fans who have not visited Morrison's grave have a lower social status (Laderman & León, 2003).

One important study about Morrison's grave has been done by Margry (2008). He focused on different fan cultures, and explored their perception of Morrison as an idol and researched if they perceived his grave as a sacred place. His results show that for the specific group of individual and ideologically oriented fans, Morrison is akin to a religious inspiration. The frontman resembles a saint and possesses, in their eyes, supernatural qualities. The cemetery is thus believed by them to be a sacred location. This sacred status is also spread via popular culture, for example, the successful film *The Doors* (1991) by Oliver Stone gave shape to Morrison's image as a legendary performer (Margry, 2008). Aside from this spiritual perspective of the gravesite has there not been a research of fans of *The Doors* that have been to Père-Lachaise. This indicates the existing gap in the literature about the above-mentioned fan-tourists.

The study of fans and fandom is often perceived as troublesome, considering that fandoms take different shapes and expressions over time and place (De Kloet & Van Zoonen, 2007). Furthermore, the term does not have a positive connotation in the public discourse and is often associated with episodes of hysteria and inappropriate behaviours. However, after further analysis of fan communities that critically analyse the phenomenon and move beyond stereotypes, the differences between fans and, for instance, a collector of art, become less visible as they both share an emotional connection and have an abundance of knowledge of the matter that they are interested in (De Kloet & Van Zoonen, 2007).

People can have different motivations to participate in dark tourism. For this research, the three most important motivations may be the desire to get closer to death (Seaton, 2009), the opportunity for both social and personal catharsis (Causevic & Lynch, 2011), or wanting to feel emotions, especially understanding and connecting (Biran et al., 2011). It is obvious that there has been much theoretical research about dark tourism and

more specifically possible motivations to visit graves of celebrities, but the actual motivations of fans to visit the grave of their idol have been under-examined. This study uses qualitative research methods to fill the established gap in the literature.

### **Chapter 3. Methods and data collection**

In this chapter the methods of data collection and the data analysis are discussed. Motivations and personal experiences are highly subjective and contextual. For this reason, in this thesis, the experiences of fans that visit Morrison's grave are analysed using qualitative research methods (Hein & Austin, 2001). I have conducted semi-structured interviews with thirteen fans of The Doors that have visited the grave. Given the current pandemic, the interviews took place online, through Zoom. Online interviews can be a useful method for data collection, especially when meeting in person is not possible. However, it does have negative aspects. The most challenging aspect in the data collection process regarded the fact that the interviewees are not acquaintances of the interviewer. The process of opening up to someone that they do not trust yet was not always smooth, and required time and effort on my part. However, online interviews also have pros: there are no social consequences to their answers, so they might not hesitate to be totally honest. They do not have to be afraid that I will further judge them on their answers, as I probably will not meet them in their day-to-day life. The respondent and the interviewer both participate in the interview from their own comfortable environment, making them feel safe. In addition to this, the respondent does not have to worry about privacy and confidentiality, as they will be given the option to be anonymous when the results are discussed in the thesis.

During the interviews, I focused both on their answers, and on their non-verbal communication. This often gives additional valuable information about the non-verbalized feelings and opinions of the interviewee through their emotions or body language. The questions during the interviews were open-ended. This way, the respondents could express themselves in their own words, which will be transcribed, coded and interpreted to find general patterns (Flick, 2009). The interviews are divided into the following themes: socio-demographic information of the interviewees, affinity with Jim Morrison, motivations, experiences and reflections. For more detailed information and for the complete interview guide, see Appendix A.

The number of fans that have been interviewed is thirteen. The total length of the interviews amounts to ten hours and thirty-one minutes. The interviewees' sample consists of approximately equal parts males and females (six males and seven females have been interviewed). Their ages range from 28 to 68 years old. Even though The Doors disbanded 50 years ago, their work still appeals to newer generations. Because of this intergenerational appeal, the sample is not limited to a specific age group. The discriminant to choose the interviewees is instead their manifest sense of belonging to the

fan group of The Doors. For that reason, these fans have different nationalities, backgrounds, educations and occupations. The fanbase of The Doors consists of different kinds of people, so this is reflected in the sample choice of interviewees. While I do recognize that it is not possible to be representative for the entire community of fans that have visited the gravesite, and tout-court generalizations of the results might be difficult, I will focus on emerging and repeated patterns, which can help identify commonalities and broader interpretations of the data. Nonetheless, the intentions of this qualitative research is to understand some fans' practices and not to represent the whole community (Bengtsson, 2016).

The fans have been contacted via the public platform Facebook. All were part of a public platform where they can share experiences or talk to other fans. It could be stated that they perform the role of fan and being a community this way. This is the best way to reach out to fans, given the current situation and social environment that have been influenced by COVID-19. At the moment, it is not possible nor advisable to go to Paris and find fans there and, as international tourism is halted, and visiting the cemetery could result in a fruitless trip. Instead, a request to be interviewed has been posted on the page *Fans of Jim Morrison and The Doors* and the page *Jim Morrison*. This limits the scope to people that consider themselves fans and are active on social media. Yet, the first group has almost seventeen thousand members and the second has over forty-two thousand members. Most of the fans that replied visited the grave years ago, the timeframe is from 1990 to 2019. For this reason, I take into account that when they are asked if they can remember their motivations and experiences, they will construct their meaning and their stories retroactively. However, this is not an issue, as it is in their narrations and meaning-making process that their experiences and subjectivities can be found. The fans who accepted to be interviewed were contacted via Zoom. As previously mentioned, this is the safest way to conduct the interviews since the current pandemic and the spread of COVID-19 from person to person. Zoom is free and the participants do not have to register to use it. It is possible to ask follow-up questions during the interview, as to obtain more in-depth data. Participants are requested to turn on their camera, so their non-verbal communications can be observed. It is not possible to observe their entire body, but usually their upper body is visible.

In-depth and semi-structured interviews are chosen for the reason that this will give deeper insight into personal stories of the people that have been to the grave. Much theory has been written about the practices of these fans (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Levitt, 2010; Huggins, 2012), but the researchers have not focused on their actual motivations or



experiences (De Kloet & Van Zoonen, 2007). This method gives a voice to categories that have been silenced before, as academics that are not in tourism often have been heavily biased and made superficial assumptions about tourists and their experiences (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), especially when tourists are also fans. The potential breadth and depth of motivations in grave tourism have not been taken into account. The use of qualitative methods in trying to understand the feelings, motivations and personal experiences of tourists is an endeavor to overcome this lack of empirical material from previous academic work.

The method chosen to analyse the data is discourse analysis. Discourse analysis can be applied to forms of talk and texts to analyse how events and descriptions are constructed after an occurrence (Bryman, 2012). These memories and the language used to describe it, give shape to experiences and motivations (Flick, 2009). This method is the most appropriate for my research, as it allows an analysis of narratives and memories that might have taken place a long time ago. In many cases the interviewees have visited Morrison's grave a couple of years ago, so a lot of time has passed. They had time to reconstruct the story and make sense of it. That is why the focus is on the narratives and meaning-making processes around the experience and not on collecting information on what the fans actually did. Rather, the way they remember it, the stories that they tell me about their visit and the meaning they give to the experience are central. After the interviews have been conducted, they are transcribed and arranged through a process of coding. All the transcripts of the interviews are reread and notes with the code in are put in the sidelines. The thematic codes briefly describe what someone is saying. For example, when an interviewee mentions that they left flowers at the grave, the sentence has been coded as #attribute. This specific word was chosen because it refers to items and to me it means something that a fan leaves at Morrison's gravesite. These codes help with finding continuities, similarity and recurring patterns in each interview (Flick, 2009). This is done by putting all the codes in one grid and merging the ones that are similar. Similar codes are to assess whether they can be coded under one category. After the codes are categorized, the overarching themes that recur are selected (Bryman, 2012). See Appendix B for the coding tree. This approach makes the research repeatable (Williams & Moser, 2019). The research can be done again and new data can be generated. The outcomes can be compared to see if there are similar patrons.

## **Chapter 4. Ethics and positionality**

Undertaking studies that involve human participants involves different challenges. Some of the most prominent aspects, especially with research involving qualitative data collection, and personal questions, are the attention to ethics and integrity, and assessing, before and during the process, that the ways in which research is conducted are appropriate. Visiting the grave of an adored celebrity is a sensitive topic. I did my best to make sure that the participants felt comfortable by mentioning that I also like to music of The Doors and that I have been to Morrison's grave myself. I hoped that this would emphasize our similarities and create a connection, which would make the interview more comfortable. Before starting the interview we would have a friendly ice-breaker conversation about their daily life, mundane topics, and COVID-19.

A crucial part of the ethics is the consent form. This helps not only to ensure that I as an interviewer am protected and have permission to use the interview, but it also provides a safe feeling to the research participants. I have chosen to discuss this consent form verbally. Before the interview, the participants were asked if I could use a voice recorder. I explained that it allows me to transcribe the interview later on. When answered yes, I would ask them to please say their name and to give permission to be voice recorded. I also explained that they could always leave during the interview or skip a question if they prefer not to answer it. At the end of the interview, I gave the participants the option to be anonymous. I asked them if I could use their first name, age, if they are a male, female or non-binary and their nationality. However, they also had the option to pick a pseudonym. I told them that they are free to ask me not to use the data within one week from the day of the interview if they change their mind about it. I made sure that they could contact me, in case they would like to read my thesis when it is done.

Another important issue that needs to be addressed is that of positionality. The background and beliefs of the researcher may have an influence on the research integrity. The codes, themes, and interpretations have been determined by me, since I collected the data. I did my best to limit judgments and not let my own opinions shine through in the interview. I did this by being open-minded and being interested in the things that the participants said. However, I am aware that the findings are never completely free of the worldviews and perspectives of the researcher (Taylor et al., 2015). One of my personal feelings in relation to this topic is that I enjoy the music of The Doors. So I do understand why the interviewees may be a fan. I know that I am just a mild fan that sometimes listens to some music, so I did not profile myself as a huge fan. One person asked me before the interview if I was a fan and I explained that I like to listen to the music. I am also a white

female, with a high education, which may come with some prejudices. I did not want to talk too much about my education prior to the interview. I introduced and explained the research and my master's, and some people were also interested in what I wanted to do after this year. In those cases, I did not mind telling about my education.

## **Chapter 5. Demographic information of interviewees**

The sample for this study contained thirteen participants, seven of whom were females and six were males. In terms of the ages, two participants belonged to the over 20 age group, four of the participants were in the over 40 age group, four participants were part of the 50 age group, 3 participants were in the over 60 age group. The interviewees all had diverse educations, from leaving school at 16 to a master's degree. The participants occupy various occupations, such as opera singer, claim handler for a shipping company, sports instructor to retired. The nationalities consisted of Italian, Greek, Dutch, French, British, Canadian and American. The cities of residence are also diverse, the participants lived in London, Berlin, Rotterdam, Bordeaux, Stourport-on-Severn, Athena, Houston, Whitby, Philadelphia, Den Haag, Wigan and Grays. See Appendix C for further specification.

## Chapter 6. Results

In this paragraph my findings of the interviews are showcased. The results are divided into before, during and after the visit, each has one or two sub-themes. The first theme is being a devoted fan, followed by creating a para-social relation at Père-Lachaise, visual observations at the grave, life and death, and then the reflection is discussed. The experiences and motives are of course not univocal, as the cultural background and degree of affinity with the Doors has an influence on each respondent's personal story. Thus, important commonalities and differences within the themes are described and explained.

### 6.1 Before the visit

#### *Being a devoted fan*

During the analysis of the motivation it became clear that all the interviewed fans had an affinity with The Doors. Jim Morrison made an impression on every fan in their youth because he was the frontman of The Doors, and has a special place in the fans' lives because of the music The Doors created. Reginald (57, male, the Netherlands) explained the role of The Doors in his life as: "It is something from when I was younger, that is where the love for The Doors originated". Since Jim Morrison died in 1971, the majority of the interviewed fans never had the opportunity to see him live. The connection often came into being via friends or family members, such as siblings or parents, that introduced them to the music. Stephen (40, male, England) said:

"My brother used to play it a lot when I was younger. When I was 6 or 7, he played it around the house. So I picked it up and have been listening to it ever since."

Morrison also wrote poetry, which appeals to a number of fans. Although he is most famous for the music he made with The Doors, the fans also enjoy learning about him.

"[...] I find it all very interesting and I just read a lot about him. Of course he was also a poet, he also wrote many beautiful poems." (Wendy, 42, female, the Netherlands)

His life is an interesting aspect for multiple fans. They mention having seen the film *The Doors* by Oliver Stone, and eagerly share knowledge they have about Morrison with me. The results of my interviews, while not giving a full picture, highlight how there could be a

fan-spectrum, according to the type of diverse personal connections with Morrison. Some could relate to the lyrics that he wrote, to his struggle with depression, others to the opposition to authority. The latter was clearly something that Paul (61, male, the Netherlands) could relate to when he was younger:

“Going a bit against the establishment in a certain way. Things like this, especially when I was young, appealed to me. That made quite an impression. Rather than doing the things that other people expect him to do, he was doing things totally the opposite way.”

Rosy (58, female, Italy) had what I perceived to be the most powerful relationship out of the interviewees. She explains her para-social connection to Morrison as: “I feel like someone... let us say he was a friend of mine”. Even though she never met him, she feels intimacy towards him, in the same way friends can feel it. She stated that the connection is not just a result from listening to the music, but additionally because she is conscious of similarities between the strict upbringing by her father and Morrison's father. Amongst the many characteristics and symbolic values of The Doors, she could identify and relate to the opposition of their fathers and the educational system they were in. The other fans felt more separated but are fond of actively engaging with other The Doors fans, which is the main reason to be a member of the Facebook groups. Finding people that share the same passion feels important to them, as not everybody in their immediate environment can share the same enthusiasm for The Doors. As Chris (52, male, United States of America) explains:

“Mostly all of my friends understand my obsession, is what you could say, with The Doors. They appreciate it but they are not into it nearly as much as I am. They tolerate it, they like it on the radio.”

Being in contact with Jim fans and friends from different parts of the world is the reason that Rosy (Italy) joined the fan group online. There is thus a performative dimension to the fandom. This performative dimension is the need to convey that you are a fan of The Doors to the outside world, by sharing fan talk with like-minded people online or owning The Doors merchandise. During the interviews, the fans also often showed me posters and paintings of Morrison on their walls, mugs, or talked about Doors-related photos that they wanted to send to me. I had indicated in advance that I was also a fan of The Doors

and they thought it was delightful to share it with me because they felt that as a fellow fan, I can also appreciate the value of this.

### *Creating a para-social relation at Père-Lachaise*

The connection to Morrison through The Doors and him as an artist or poet made them want to visit his gravesite. Loic (29, male, France) described his motivation:

“There is not a day without The Doors in my life, so visiting Morrison was important because he was such a big part of The Doors.”

Other fans referred to their love for Jim Morrison or to their fascination with The Doors as a motivation. Anoushka (40, female, England) explained that she had been “obsessed” with The Doors since her youth and “just had to go there”. She added to this:

“My sister is actually 9 years older than me. She has been to Paris a few times and I remember the first time she showed a picture of Jim Morrison’s grave. I might have been 13 or 14, and I was like [...] I want to go there! [...] That photo, I stuck it on my wall. I was mesmerized by it, his grave. I always wanted to go there.”

Oftentimes, collecting information from books or magazines and seeing photos of the grave was something that fans mentioned. This is not merely a way to prepare themselves for their journey to Paris, but seeing other people’s photos was a realization that visiting the grave themselves is a possibility. In fact, seeing it with their own eyes was referred to as a motivation a number of times. Rosy (Italy) explained that after reading about the grave in a book, she said to her family: “[...] this is what I want. I want to visit Jim’s grave, see it myself”. Chris (United States of America) explained why looking at other people’s videos was not enough for him “Well being there, you are in the element. You are in the sun, you are in the wind, you are in the cold. It just has a different feeling, than looking at a video”. One of the interviewees was already a fan of The Doors when Jim Morrison was still alive, and Pauline (68, female, England) consciously remembers hearing the news that he had passed away. When asked what attracted her to his grave, she referred to when Morrison died in 1971. She felt devastated and carried that with her, until when she traveled to Paris with her husband in 1999.

“We decided to go to Paris, so obviously this was on my wish list as well. Always wanted to go and see Jim’s grave... Just to pay our respect, see where he is buried.” (Pauline, 68, female, England)

She stated that in all probability she had read an article about Morrison’s grave beforehand. Other people’s experiences can be an initial motivation to eventually make a trip to gaze at the grave themselves.

For some of the fans, the allurement to visit the gravesite had an auratic form (Seaton, 2009). For them experiencing and feeling the presence of Morrison nearby is an important stimulus. Reginald (the Netherlands) described this feeling as: “At first I wanted to see the grave myself, but I also wanted to be there to experience Jim up-close [...]”. The visit to Morrison’s grave appears to be an attempt or desire to somehow materialize an otherwise immaterial para-social relationship. Only one interviewed fan had the opportunity to see Jim Morrison live, while some of the other fans, like Rosy (Italy), expressed that her visit was “the only way to meet him”. The fans are aware that Morrison is not alive anymore:

“Me and my boyfriend did really want to see his grave, we were like... we are going to visit him. Of course he is dead, but you know...” (Aphrodite, 28, female, Greece)

Yet, some still refer to him as if he is still alive. Chris (United States of America) visited Père-Lachaise in 1990 and 2019, and when asked why he wanted to return after all these years, he stated:

“I went the second time as a middle-aged adult, my Doors collection grew. I have autographs now, I have all four. I have two Jim Morrison autographs. [...] I have met Robby Krieger, I have met John Densmore the drummer. So to me, I almost had to go a second time, to visit Jim as well...”

For Chris was going to Paris the next logical step in the expansion of his Doors collection after meeting the other band members. Talking just as though Morrison could be encountered at his gravesite was common during the interviews. Most importantly, this shows the allurement that people can feel towards celebrities, even after they are deceased.



The idea of meeting a dead idol can even bring about bodily responses. Wendy (the Netherlands) said:

“[...] I wanted to go there to be close to him, I just wanted to go to that place where he is buried. I wanted that so badly, I was really nervous when I went the first time.”

This is the same reaction that somebody may have when they meet a celebrity that is alive. In addition, the auratic presence can be the starting point of an emotional response. Rosy (Italy) indicated that she felt sad because the grave was equivalent to proof that Morrison was in fact dead. The presence she perceived removed her doubts that Jim maybe was still alive. Stephen (England) spoke as well about how he felt at the site:

“It was quite emotional to be honest with you. I have listen to it all my life and to stand at Jim’s grave was... I got a bit choked up. [...] I listen to The Doors all the time and then standing in front of his grave is almost like somebody you know. Like a part of the family.”

Stephen referring to Morrison as a part of the family shows again that the fans experience a para-social relation. Moreover, it explains why they feel emotionally involved when visiting the gravesite. The gravesite is not related to an arbitrary person, but it is rather the resting place of somebody they could connect to, that is almost a member of their own family. This personal relation gives an additional emotional dimension to the gravesite.

Another important motivation that is related to the auratic presence has to do with the idea that fans can connect to Morrison in their minds at the gravesite. Feeling his presence resulted in a longing to thank Morrison at his grave. The grave thus become an extension of the person which is no longer with them, and can be considered by many fans as a repository of the feelings they wished they could communicate in person, but cannot. For example, in Anoushka’s (England) case, she wanted:

“[...] to say thank you for what you have done. Thank you for all the inspiration and thank you for a great strategy for dealing with my despair and pain. You know. So thank you for your words of wisdom.”

Aphrodite (Greece) also expressed how she wanted to: “Just be there for some minutes and a sort of [...] to just say thank you”. Since Morrison is dead and they cannot thank him

personally, his gravesite, where his bones and spirit are, in their opinion, is the next best option to do this. Reginald (the Netherlands) explained the difference between being there at the location and thanking him or doing this from home:

“You can of course also do that from your home, but I think that it is more personal to do it there at that location.”

Thus, it is also about placing themselves close to him, which generates a more personal relationship than the one they have at home. The only person that explicitly mentioned not to feel his spirit is Pauline (England). She stated:

“Although it is his grave, he is not there. Yes he is dead and buried there, but his spirit is not there for me.”

This difference, stated only by her, might be because she was the only one who saw Morrison live at a concert in 1970. Pauline had a real chance to experience Morrison up-close, and therefore she probably did not seek out the auratic presence at the grave. For her it was to see where his life ended and thus to reflect on the relationship that she had with him as real and symbolic, after his death, presence until that moment. For the other fans the auratic presence seems to be an important motivation, as they were never near Morrison during his life. Stephen (England) indicated that at the gravesite he likes to “[...] say hello and talk to him in your head” and Loic (France) “[...] just wanted to say thank you to an old friend”. For many fans, visiting Morrison’s grave is a way to pay respects to him. An important element of being able to pay respects is having a lot of knowledge about the person that they are visiting. As Chris (United States of America) mentions, comparing his first visit to his last:

“I know the music, know the background behind the stories. I felt like I have evolved as a fan, I knew Jim as a person more, as a rock 'n' roll star. So I felt like I was there paying respects to him more as an artist and singer.”

Paying respects seems more meaningful when someone is aware of the gravity of a place.

Feeling the auratic presence or experiencing Morrison up-close can be disturbed by material obstacles such as fences, that are put up around the grave. These waist-high iron barriers were put around the grave to protect it in 2004 (Margry, 2008). All fans agreed that

this is an unfortunate development. Some showed understanding for the reasons behind this choice. Paul (the Netherlands) said: "It is unfortunate, but it is indeed necessary". The fence also appeared to influence the distance the fans felt towards Morrison at the location, and sometimes developed in acts of disruption towards the place and its rules. Some fans, for example, jumped over the fence and walked closer to the grave. Chris (United States of America), for instance, mentions that he knew that he was not supposed to hop over the fence, but did it anyway. When asked why he did that, he replied:

"Well... I do not know, because I am that kind of person. I do that. I am not going to harm anything, I am not going to graffiti anything. So I looked around and hopped over the fence and I went with my video and took some pictures for some friends that knew I was going to be there. I was inside less than a minute and I got out and went to the other side."

For him the motivation was not necessary to be close to Morrison as a person, but rather to be closer to the stone of the grave for a photo. This activity does not have to be completely pre-planned, but can be a spontaneous action. Wendy (the Netherlands) described her impulsive idea to jump over the fence and get a photo of her together with the grave.

"The weather was nice, and people walked back and forth. About 6 or 7 people kept coming by, they do not stay there for hours. But then I had not yet in my mind that I am going to climb over that fence. I just thought I am going to see the location... Then I said to my mom, you know what I am going to do it, I am just going to climb over that fence. Yes I just want to get to that grave. I waited a minute until everyone was gone, then I got over it. So I got over that fence, my mom took a picture, I ran back. It turned out that the photo was not good, so I went over that fence again, I also got caught on it and I really had a wound on my stomach. So I said take 10 pictures. I assumed different poses on the grave and these photos were good. I stayed there for a while and eventually walked around to other graves."

Here it seems again as if taking a photo is the only reason to climb over the barriers. Yet, when asked if Wendy (the Netherlands) was only motivated to take a photo she answered: "Just to touch it and be close". She was very surprised that you could get so close and touch it. Here it turns out that being in proximity of Jim Morrison is also important. The

auratic presence is even more palpable when the fan is as close to the grave as possible. Not everybody has the desire to get over the fences, Reginald (the Netherlands) said: “You could also call the distance respectful” and Paul (the Netherlands) stated that it does not matter whose grave it is, you should keep some distance. Whether the fans jumped over the fence or not, they are often motivated by a longing to visit the place where they could be close to the essence of Morrison.

## 6.2 During the visit

### *Visual observations at the grave*

Although creating a para-social connection was experienced as positive, most of the fans were slightly disappointed by their visual observations of the site. What they saw at the burial site gave rise to a slightly upsetting first encounter. Three elements that formed negative aspects were particularly mentioned often; size and state of Morrison’s grave, the cramped location and the amount of graffiti that has been applied on the surrounding graves.

When talking about the grave itself with the fans, it quickly became noticeable that they were oftentimes unpleasantly surprised. This was largely caused by the expectations that the visitors had in advance and on location these expectations were not fulfilled. Even people who had seen photos prior to their visit were shocked by the overall condition. Mirelle (48, female, the Netherlands) described her impression of the location of the grave at Père-Lachaise as:

“I had seen some pictures, but I did not expect it to be hidden away like this, somewhere in the back. I did expect that it would be a nicer place. The grave was close to other graves [...].”

She mentioned that a more prominent place closer to the entrance of the cemetery would be more fitting, because of Morrison’s celebrity status. Additionally, she anticipated that the rest of the band members would have taken care or provided a better grave, especially since in her opinion they owned their popularity thanks to Morrison. She thought that it was odd to see it hidden away. Angela (53, female, Canada) said: “[...] I felt saddened that such a person lays in such a condition”. Aphrodite (Greece) remembered that her first impression of the grave was “[...] we were like, oh my god it is so small!”, and Loic (France) added:

“So it was surprising, because it was small. If you look at Elvis Presley and Graceland, that is different. I had to get used to it, I thought it was sad that it was so small. He was a big star obviously, and this was just so... normal.”

There appears to be a feeling of an anticlimactic feeling that is mainly caused by the vast meaning that Morrison has in their lives, and they do not see that reflected in the materiality of the grave. In addition to that, the fans associate Morrison's life with sex, drugs & rock 'n' roll. Especially the last sentence of Loic's (France) citation shows that the knowledge he has about Morrison as an extravagant rockstar caused him to look forward to the same sensation at the gravesite. His impression can best be described as disappointment, for there is not enough spectacle and he was rather seeing the mundane and normal. It turns out that tourists still experience a place mainly visually and that the spectacle that Sharpley (2018) mentions, was missing here.

While some of the interviewed fans were disappointed in the beginning, multiple other fans also mentioned some elements that they assessed as positive. They touch upon this by comparing the grave to Jim Morrison as a person. Reginald (the Netherlands) characterized the city Paris as a chic and worthy place for a famous person to be buried. Marty (61, male, United States of America) reflected on the location and called it:

“[...] a little surprising when you first see it. No disrespect, this Père-Lachaise is the most honorable place you can be buried in the whole world I think. Because he does not have a big grave or mausoleum... at first I think it was a little unfit and underwhelming, but then I understood the gravity of it.”

Although his grave is anticlimactic, Paris and Père-Lachaise as location are valued in a positive way. Wendy (the Netherlands) even said that the cemetery is “really beautiful” unlike Jim's grave, that is a bit of a mess. Secondly, fans emphasized that Morrison was a humble person, so Rosy (Italy) thought it was fitting that his grave is a small size. Stephen (England) compared the humble grave in the following way:

“You do not want something that is prestige and shiny. Jim was not that person. [...] He did not own many things, he had not a lot of possessions. He has no house, he had no car, very little clothes. So I think it suits him.”

Morrison's grave consists of a headstone and a flat and open concrete rectangle on the ground. A part at the front of the rectangle is damaged, yet Reginald (the Netherlands) enunciated about this: "It was not quite perfect, but Jim was not perfect". There is a sort of satisfaction in seeing that the grave shows a visual coherence with what is perceived as Morrison's life. They recognize certain characteristics at his grave that also belong to him as a person. Comparing and identifying the visual aspect in this way seems to be an attempt to nuance their own more harsh opinions about the upsetting state of the grave and put the emphasis on the positive aspects. During the interviews some fans were actively negotiating their opinion, to not offend Morrison and his resting place. This also reveals that a grave is becoming a predominant part of the portrayal and image that people have of a celebrity. When the first observations of the place are not fitting with their personal image, they search for elements that do fit with this.

A visual element that caused mixed reactions among the participants is the graffiti, mainly consisting of texts, that is applied on Morrison's grave and the surrounding area. The opponents find it inconsiderate. Pauline (England) even states that it is very hard to forget all the graffiti that she saw "Now it just sticks in my mind because I hate it, I think it is disrespectful". Marty (United States of America) felt conflicted about his observations, as he said:

"I do not like the graffiti on other people's stones, but I do have to say that a little here and there. Like this way to the Lizard King, it is super cool."

The proponents consider it more as a sign of respect, something done out of love.

"[...] I thought the graffiti that was applied on the other graves was very impressive. Lots of things were written or scratched everywhere you could look. [...] it just shows that a lot of people still care about Jim in a positive way." (Reginald, the Netherlands)

Mirelle (the Netherlands) added to this by stating:

"I think it suits the cemetery in a way. Here in the Netherlands it would not fit, it is all very neat and clean. [...]. Of course it [Père-Lachaise] is not a normal cemetery... It really is a sort of dark place. I also understand that people take an aerosol to put something on the ground or on the side."

The graffiti gave the place's identity an uncommon ambience, but most of the fans regarded it as a disrespectful act on a cemetery, especially when applied on the neighboring graves.

Comparing the cemetery and Morrison's grave to other burial grounds, such as Mirelle (the Netherlands) did, happened six times during the interviews. Rosy (Italy) referred to a cemetery in her hometown in Italy:

“[...] in my town when someone dies, we try to make the grave very nice. It is always in order with flowers or something. So I was thinking that I do not understand why they just put this stone with the name. They could have done something better...”

Paul (the Netherlands) contrasted the grave to Elvis' grave and stated that Père-Lachaise should not turn into Graceland. He experienced the grave as adequate, and believed it is unnecessary to extend it to a larger or more monumental grave. The things that somebody is familiar with play an important role in the expectations that they have before actually going to Paris. Contrasting the grave to something that a fan is familiar with seems also to be a way to make sense of the new experiences they have. They try to describe it in familiar terms and determine what is different. The grave is not valued in isolation, but people make judgments based on the value that related objects and places have for them.

Because Morrison's grave is frequently visited every day, many of the interviewed fans encountered other fans at the site or were together with a partner. Some enjoyed the companionship in silence, while others were happy to talk to other people. Reginald (the Netherlands) was one of the people that did not talk to any other fans, since he was visiting with his family. Yet, it gave him a satisfying feeling to see that Morrison was not forgotten. Mirelle (the Netherlands) also did not talk to other people, but said that she “admired everyone who made an effort to go there”. Chris (United States of America) made a remark about how he noticed people speaking different languages. He said: “To me that was like a melting pot of culture coming right to the spot, and it is an American of all people”. One of the things that made the place special is being there together. He especially liked that somebody was playing guitar. Stephen (England) as well mentioned this: “There were lots of people because it was the anniversary of his death. Lots of people with guitars and playing Doors music”. Moreover, he did talk to fans and enjoyed:

“[...] sharing stories of how we got into The Doors, favorite album, favorite song... yeah. I even met one person that actually saw them live. Which is pretty cool.”

When asked how it made him feel, he replied that it made him feel happy and “It is nice to share stories and to talk to people with a common interest. It is always easy to talk about something like that to somebody”. Just as Stephen (England), Loic (France) makes an annual pilgrimage, to be at the gravesite on the anniversary of Morrison’s birthday and date of death. He stated that these days are very meaningful to him, because:

“I enjoy the anniversaries, because there are a lot of fans. Being together is better than alone, I feel connected. You always hear a discussion about a subject that we all love. So sometimes I give some information. I am quite happy to hear something, and you start discussing.”

He appreciates this strong connection and relation to other fans at the site, it even can be called a sense of belonging. This is also what Biran, Poria, and Oren (2011) indicated as a possible motivation, wanting to feel a connection, in this case to other people. Paul (the Netherlands) even hoped there would be other fans present, and he was happy to share fan talk with like-minded people. More importantly, one interviewed fan referred to this sense of belonging as an attachment to a community. Anoushka (England) described her first experience:

“As soon as I got there, there were quite a few people. And it was just a normal day in March and there were a good 20 people. [...] I remember a guy that was taking photos that went to UCLA with Jim Morrison. So I asked what was Jim Morrison like, and he said he was a poet. But not only that, but the whole atmosphere is great... people just come together and just talk to you. Like you are part of a happy family. Not overly friendly, but when I spoke to this guy another lady came over and told me to read *An American Prayer*. It is just that everybody is in awe. It is something about the place spiritually, they just share, you know the experience. Ever since... I know there was a reason that I wanted to be there, but I did not expect it to be like that. Even seeing Jim Morrison and going for the atmosphere itself. You share it with people, like a family.”



She had a very positive overall experience, but especially the sharing and feeling like a family or community was very pleasant. Later she added: “The people, everyone is sharing the experiences, [...] People are quite friendly and that is good for me”. In the case of sharing the experience, by actually talking or just relishing a silent companionship, the fans noticed a sort of connection between them and the other people at the grave. Being able to share the moment with people that have the same passion is valuable. This can provide an additional layer to the experience, when the visitors feel a sense of community originating, and it becomes evident that most of the time this was experienced as positive.

One person who believed to have a different experience at first glance was Angela (Canada). This also had to do with the presence of other fans. Although she mentions that she felt “fulfilled” and “happy” to be able to talk to other people about Jim Morrison and “how special he was”. That is also one of reasons that she wanted to visit Père-Lachaise, and it felt like she had given “a tribute by talking about him”. However, Angela indicate that she was frustrated in the beginning when she saw some other fans. The main reason for this feeling was that lack of knowledge and incomprehension that she sensed.

“Everyone was looking at the tomb and they could not understand what... and I started talking and my husband says you are not a tourist guide! But I was just talking to people!”

She added that

“[...] I started talking to the people who were sitting and just staring at the grave. I said what are you staring at? No one understood what was written in his grave. What are you looking at? At the teddy bears and the little hearts and things? I was a bit frustrated to tell you the truth. That is why I asked, does anybody knows what it means? No one knew what it was, so I started explaining.”

She did not like that the other people were staring at the grave as if they were “sightseeing” at a touristic place. Here a line is drawn between visiting a tourist attraction and Morrison's grave. The grave is fundamentally different and it is important for Angela (Canada) that other people at the site understand that. In her opinion, most tourist attraction would not require as much previous knowledge or understanding, but Morrison's grave did. The feeling that it is different from a typical tourist attraction came back more often, even when comparing to other places related to Morrison, like the apartment where

he died in Paris. Wendy (the Netherlands) compared visiting the gravesite to visiting the apartment and said about the latter: “I did not really have a feeling there”. The grave is a place where emotions are connected to, as the body of the singer is buried there, and this relates to the auratic presence, that at other sites is missing.

### *Life and death*

Being at a dark tourism site, such as a cemetery, has the consequence that the visitors are almost inevitably reminded of death and dying. In the case of Morrison, the gravesite is a place that provided the opportunity to reflect on Jim Morrison’s life and death.

The interview with Rosy provides a good example of one of the ways in which people think about Morrison’s life, as she said “I was thinking about him, not just as Jim Morrison the frontman of The Doors, but as a human being. An unlucky guy”. Pauline (England) shared the same view on this, she stated “In the end, I just felt very sad and you know... he lived this life and is now buried at a gravesite in Paris”. While thinking about his life, the fans consequently think about Morrison’s death. This has to do with the fact that Morrison died in Paris and the visitors feel confronted with this. Marty (United States of America) said about the gravesite “[...] that is where it ended”. Reginald (the Netherlands) added to this idea with a sad tone: “We as fans really lost him in Paris”. When speaking about Morrison’s death in Paris, there is one overarching feeling that returned, the notion that his death is a waste that Morrison’s talent and creativity was lost. Mirelle (the Netherlands) further explained that at the grave she thought “[...] here is a man who has achieved quite a lot and it is a shame that it must have ended like this”. Chris (United States of America) phrased this as:

“I think that it feels like, well seeing it, makes you realise how young he was, how short his career was. It sort of reads like a tragedy, dying at 27, height of his fame, popular rock band.”

He makes a connection between Morrison’s life and his fame as an artist. Pauline’s feelings also relate to the young age Morrison had when he died, she described it as “[...] I think that in the end it was a big shock when he died at 27 and really upsetting. When you are there in your 40s, you just think what a waste, what a terrible waste and what a shame”. The confrontation with Morrison’s death mainly caused them to feel sad and apprehend a feeling of being deprived of him as an artist.

Not only Jim Morrison's life and death are themes that occupy the fans' minds, but his mortality is also a topic that got their attention. The idea of mortality reflects the tension of Jim Morrison as a symbol and Jim Morrison as a person made of flesh and blood. Aphrodite (Greece) phased her thoughts at the grave in the following way: "I had the realisation moment when even the big legend, the big Lizard King, that in the end he is buried like every other human being". She even took this awareness a step further and said:

"Just standing there, and the legend is not gone, I think it is even better. You get a grasp of reality. Then you know that he was not a god, he was human. That makes it even much bigger, that he was so loved. He striked so far and he was still human."

Comprehending that Morrison was a "human" did not merely give her a sad feeling, she actually got more respect for him as an artist after understanding that. Reginald (the Netherlands) was also more aware of Morrison's mortality but in a different manner than Aphrodite (Greece). The large size of the cemetery Père-Lachaise and the enormous amount of graves he observed made him more conscious of the context that Morrison is part of:

"[...] the grave was just one of many. Jim was just a small part of a bigger picture there. Normally you see him as the great singer of The Doors, but here he was much more normal and... more accessible."

He got a more balanced view on the celebrity status of Morrison and that made him adjust the distance that he felt towards the rockstar, as he mentioned that Morrison is more accessible. Not only was the distance that he perceived changed, but the image of Morrison as a person was even changed a little bit.

The image that the fans of Morrison have was mentioned at length by the interviewees. From the interviews it turned out that some of the fans felt as if they had authorship over their imaging of him, especially over the way that they conceptualize him as a performer and person outside of the fame. Pauline (England) referred to her image of him as unchangeable: "And I was just thinking of him... he is 27 and will always be 27". Angela (Canada) thought about Morrison's character at the gravesite, and from this perspective she did not understand the memorabilia that other people left:

“I do not understand why someone would put a teddy bear on the grave of a person like Jim Morrison, have lived and having spoken the way he did and wrote the poetry he did. I mean I do not think he would liked those on his grave. Actually, Jim Morrison was not your typical hard rockstar. He was soft spoken, very down to earth, that is why he was very, I think, a very large and profound inner world.”

The image that she had at that moment did not correspond with the things that she saw on top of the grave. There was hence a conflict between the image that she had created and the image of other fans. She also indicated that she had no intention of changing her image, considering that during the next visit she will be “cleaning his grave”. Reginald and Mirelle (both the Netherlands) thought about Morrison performing on stage while looking at his grave. This made Mirelle wonder if he knows what kind of impact the music of The Doors still has today. Later she added “[...] the music continues to live, even though he has been gone for a long time. [...] That is quite special. He has accomplished that”. Reginald (the Netherlands) also imagined what it would be like if Morrison was still alive. This image that the fans have of Morrison in their head is submitted to active reflection, as they are trying to imagine and form an image of what it would be like if Morrison was still alive. The meaning that they give to him personally is not fixed, and of course different fans can have different interpretations of him as a person, as became visible with the view on the teddy bears that are left behind. The fans that left teddy bears behind thought that it was appropriate to leave this for Morrison, while others like Angela (Canada) do not think this is suitable. Jim Morrison holds a different meaning to different people. The resting place is however a spot where people can express their agency in relation to Morrison’s memory, by leaving something behind that they expect him to appreciate. Marty (United States of America) left a couple of cigarettes on the gravestone with the reason “Just to show respect and I am sure he was in the situation a million times, like do you have a cigarette?”. Clearly, the cigarettes fit with the image he had of Morrison and he can express this image by leaving some items behind.

Visiting the gravesite and thinking about Morrison’s life and death has subsequently developed into a moment of reflection on their own life. Being at the gravesite made some of the fans aware that just as Morrison died, they could die too. Rosy (Italy) indicated that at the time, she had recently lost a friend. About the visit to Père-Lachaise she said: “We felt a lot of pain, because he was so young. I had all these kind of feelings, you know, when I was sitting at the grave”. However, not all the fans experienced fatalistic thoughts.

Aphrodite (Greece) recalled that she felt extremely alive at the gravesite, for the reason that she was delighted to visit it. Loic (France) said that he did not think about “negative thoughts”, he rather goes to the grave to seek comfort or a positive feeling. After a difficult and challenging time in his life, he was motivated to release his personal catharsis by visiting Morrison’s grave. It is a way to deal with sadness, improve his state of mind and feel comfort, because the grave is a place that he knows well. As mentioned before, he makes an annual pilgrimage to the site so that is the reason why the place feels familiar. He explained this: “I thought... Okay I go to Paris, see my friend Jim Morrison”. Celebrities that have been deceased can therefore still provide personal support. This is in line with the theory that visiting a dark tourism place can lead to emotional involvement and catharsis (Osbaldiston & Petray, 2011; Causevic & Lynch, 2011).

Personal catharsis and its potential to bring about healing (Light, 2017), among other things was discussed in the interviews. Pauline (England) compared her life to Morrison’s life and mentioned that she was sad, owing to the fact that she had a chance to get older and he did not. She was part of the same generation as Morrison and after a moment of self-reflection, she became aware of this difference between them. However, the opportunity for healing was also addressed. As explained before, Pauline stated that she was hurt and lost a bit of the passion for The Doors after hearing that Morrison died in 1971. Subsequently to visiting the grave, the joy for The Doors returned. After the visit, she said: “I started watching videos and listening to CDs, like reliving my youth”. Just by visiting the grave and reciting words of a Doors song at the location, she could experience a sort of personal catharsis. She was able to accept and cope with Morrison’s death after 28 years and move on. Other effects that the visit had afterwards are discussed in the following section. It is apparent that visiting a dark tourism site has the effect on the visitors, as they thought about their own mortality. Not only that, but others were of course occupied with thinking about Morrison’s death. In this regard, it can be stated that they got an experience closer to death (Seaton, 2009), as they are more aware of human mortality in general. Moreover, in some cases it was a way to release personal catharsis (Causevic & Lynch, 2011). Being closer to death is of course what makes this form of fan tourism clearly related to dark tourism. This research had been framed through dark tourism, but do all the fans also experience the grave as a dark place? Some participants experienced the cemetery as creepy, but nobody referred to Morrison’s grave as dark. Mirelle (the Netherlands) described the dark side of the cemetery as scary, but thought of Morrison’s grave more light-hearted. Others perceived the gravesite as unique, yet not creepy, even though they could feel Morrison’s presence and felt confronted with death sometimes.

### 6.3 After the visit

#### *Reflections*

When reflecting on their visit afterwards the fans had mixed responses. There are two trends visible, one group for whom the pilgrimage makes a big difference in how they perceive themselves as a fan, and one group who did not necessarily experience it as a rite of passage. The people that did not feel changed as a fan indicated that they did not relate their visit to becoming a better person. Their social status does not feel elevated in comparison to other fans that did not make the same visit to Morrison's grave. Reginald (the Netherlands) stated the following about his visit: "I felt close to Jim, but I have not changed as a person. It was nice to be there". He expressed that he sees the visit as an action that he did for himself, and it was nice to be there since he got a little closer to Morrison. As Aphrodite (Greece) says in this regard: "I do not connect my visit to his grave with being a better fan. I did it because I wanted to say a personal thank you for the things I discovered through his poetry and songs". More fans stated that they kept on appreciating Morrison's work as an artist. For example, Mirelle (the Netherlands) remarked "I will always have that appreciation and keep playing the music" and Angela (Canada) said "I always admired him and I still do". Although these fans are very happy with their visit, they do not identify themselves as a more refined fan afterwards.

That said, I found that some fans who did not feel changed, were however fond of sharing their experience with other people. Chris (United States of America) shared that he posted photos and videos online and liked to talk about his trip to Morrison's grave at Père-Lachaise.

"[...] I talk about it all the time! People see my pictures on social media and they are like wow you did this, and sometimes they say wow you have been to Morrison's grave. Or if they are a big Doors fan I will ask them have you been to the grave? And they go: no but I wanna go, that is a dream of mine. Well I have been there twice! You have to go once in your life at least."

At this point it needs to be remarked that being able to share the experiences is exactly the reason that some people experienced it as a rite of passage. As such, Anoushka (England) and Rosy (Italy) shared what changed for them. Anoushka underscored the idea that after a visit you belong to an exclusive group.

“I definitely feel like a more faithful fan. You feel like a group, after you have been to the grave. You might say you have a VIP pass. You feel like you are part of a special little family, you can share experiences with other fans. You can say how did you feel, what was it like? Like the other day when I posted my photo in the group. Yes it probably does change you as a fan, like you have the VIP version of The Doors family.”

In a similar fashion, Rosy (Italy) mentions that she felt like “a real fan” after her trip. It can be explained why some fans perceive their status to be different later on. They have had the wish to go to Morrison’s grave since they first learned about him when they were younger. Rosy also had a very proximate connection with Morrison, thus for her was the experience a milestone in her live. It comes with a high status, a sort of enhancement of their own identity as fan, the “VIP version”, within the fandom and feeling of connectivity to other fans that have made the same trip.

Referring to the experience is often done in a positive manner and fans hinted at happiness when they spoke about it. A common reason for this is that it had been the result of years of planning and anticipation. The visit was perceived as a goal and reaching this objective was considered as a fulfillment of that desired wish. Rosy (Italy) described that she felt “for a couple of years like oh I want to go to Paris” before she actually had the opportunity to go. Pauline (England) already had this thought since 1971: “[...] I wanted to go already since he died”. It was a slow process for her to be able to actually visit his grave. Angela (Canada) pointed out that it was almost unacceptable to pass over an opportunity to visit Père-Lachaise:

“Well, having read his poetry, having all of this music, the lifestyle and knowing that he spent his last years in Paris... there was no way that I would visit Paris and not go to visit his grave.”

She had already been wanting to travel to his grave for at least four or five years. Some of the fans indicated that they went to Paris especially for Morrison, while others had multiple purposes with their trip. Going on vacation and experiencing other things often came with a desire to be close to a celebrity that feels almost like a family member. When asked how Marty (United States of America) felt when he left the gravesite, he referred to his state of mind as “I just felt like mission complete. [...] it is always good to see it and pay our respects”. Paul (the Netherlands) explained that his feeling of gratification was connected

to the fact that he missed the opportunity to meet Morrison alive, and visiting the grave became a wish. He said:

“If you have been following someone who has been dead since you were 18, it is 40 years later and I have always wanted to go there. That was something that gave me a feeling of satisfaction.”

Even when a fan did not feel changed as a person, it is still possible that they felt content with the experience they had. Wendy (the Netherlands) did not feel any different as a fan, but said: “I really liked that I finally had the photo. I was already a huge fan and that has remained the same.” She wanted a photo together with the grave and that objective was completed successfully. As mentioned earlier, common reactions were that the fans felt sad when they were at the gravesite, but this reflection afterwards adds a perspective on the presence of positive emotions in dark tourism. To provide some nuance, these emotions are of course not only caused by the idea that a certain goal was achieved, often was seeing the grave in person enough to feel happy.

The visit even helped fans with personal issues. Rosy (Italy) for example explained that she had an argument with her family when she wanted to visit the grave. She said: “ I fought with my family as they did not want to let me go. But I won, that made me feel more confident in life as well”. Therefore, the process to get to the grave already has an effect on a person and influences how they look back on the experience. The actual site also gave some fans closure, such as Pauline (England) who was finally able to accept that Morrison had died. Visiting a dark place, such as a cemetery, can have unexpected results as it can give a sort of confirmation. The confirmation in this case is that the fans understand that Morrison has indeed passed away when they see his grave. Rosy (Italy) said that the auratic presence confirmed this idea:

“One side of me was like maybe he is alive. But when I was there I felt like this is the proof that Jim is really dead. I do not know how to say... but I could tell that he was there.”

When thinking back, which is frequently done, Mirelle (the Netherlands) even asks herself what the magical appeal of the place is. She said:



“Very strange, a kind of attraction that you cannot describe. Because who is going to visit a cemetery on an afternoon? Then there must be something very special and this is very special.”

With this answer she states that this dark tourism site is something out of the ordinary what makes it worth to visit it. Additionally, all the fans, except for one, expressed the wish to return and make the pilgrimage again. Pauline (England) had found closure after her first visit and she was happy for the experiences, but did not want to return anymore. Others yearned to be close to Morrison again or to see the site again themselves. For many of the fans, the first visit made them curious to return and relive the experience.

## **Discussion and conclusion**

This study examined the motivation of international fans of The Doors to visit Jim Morrison's grave at Père-Lachaise in Paris. This is important to research because Morrison's grave is the most visited grave in the world, yet the motivations that move fans to undertake an international trip to visit his grave are under-examined. More generally, there has been a lot of theory written about possible motivations to participate in dark tourism and experiences at celebrity graves, but empirical research is often lacking. Therefore, in this thesis thirteen international fans of The Doors that have been to Père-Lachaise, have been interviewed to get a deeper insight into this dark tourism practice. Their motives are subjective, thus I chose to apply qualitative research methods to analyse the fans' experiences. It became apparent that the fans have a diverse and complex range of motivations to go to his grave.

This research is framed as a part of the academic domain of dark tourism, as the site is related to death and suffering (Stone, 2006). In this paper the agency of the visitors was key to understand motivations, as, in line with Biran, Poria and Oren's (2011) assessment the 'darkness' of a place is determined by how people experience the location. The cemetery Père-Lachaise was for some fans a scary or dark place, unlike Morrison's grave. Nobody referred to Morrison's grave as dark. However, I would argue that this research is still a part of the dark tourism field, because it is related to a place that represents death and suffering. A majority of the fans feel confronted with Morrison's untimely death. In that sense it also refers to how thanatourism (Seaton, 1996) is defined. It is clear that this is a specific form of dark tourism, for the reason that places are visited where people can reflect on death. The fans think about Morrison's death, but it also gives them the ability to place Morrison's life into perspective. There was a tension between Morrison as an icon and Morrison as a person, as visiting his grave made some fans aware of Morrison's mortality. Moreover, participants mentioned that it also made them think about their own lives and deaths.

Seaton (2009) stated that having an experience closer to death is the main motivation to participate in dark tourism, and that, as a result of the abstraction and overexposure to death in the media, death has become the 'ultimate Other'. According to Seaton (2009) people have therefore the desire to be in the vicinity of people that passed away. It appears that thinking about death and mortality was a significant act at the location, but it is not the main motivation to travel. According to my results, the principal motivation to travel is rather experiencing the auratic presence as also defined by Seaton (2009). Before even making the trip, the fans had the idea that they could meet Morrison

by visiting his grave, and they mentioned that they could feel his presence at the site. The auratic presence indeed had an allurement (Henning, 2002) and played an important role in the motivations. The experience was influenced by this presence in a positive way. The interviewees appreciated the possibility to thank Morrison for his art and inspiration, it turns out that gaining contact with him, even if just symbolically, had more meaning and was seen as more personal at the location. This effort emphasizes the subjectivity of the experience and builds the para-social relationship in a way that shapes a perceived personal relationship by expressing gratitude. The results point out to the fact that the ultimate Other was not always sought out at the gravesite. This had to do with the auratic presence: the fans indeed did not perceive Morrison as dead, but shared the idea that Morrison, or a part of him, is still present and reachable at his gravesite. This is especially important for the fans that were never near Morrison during his life, they feel as if he can be met by visiting his grave. This supports the assumption that the ultimate Other is not present in the mind of the fans, unlike the presence of Morrison.

I hypothesized that material elements of separation, like the fence, had an influence on the experiences of the auratic presence. It indeed created a distance between Morrison and his fans. Even though many of the fans knew that the fence was at the site, they still wanted to visit the grave, so it did not interfere with their motivation. They thought it was a pity, but it did not hinder what they believed to be a positive outcome of the encounter. Some people simply jumped over it to get closer to Morrison and were willing to touch the grave, others understood the necessity of the fence. The relation between the auratic presence and material obstacles such as fences had not previously been described in literature about grave tourism, thus this gives interesting insights. For future research the influence of the material aspects of the grave on the tourist experience may even be expanded. My research looked at a small part of this relation, but it could be explored further. There was a clear tension between visiting the site and wanting to keep a positive perspective on the experience, especially since the findings suggest that there were many aspects that could lead to potential disappointment. The state of the grave and the graffiti are among others factors that formed negative aspects of their experience. Yet, the fans negotiated the occurrence and made sense of the experience and ultimately framed it in a positive light. For example, the fans made an attempt to nuance the disappointment of the small size of the grave by comparing it to Morrison as a person, as they referred to him as humble and a modest grave fits with this idea. They do this to perpetuate a positive image of Morrison's gravesite, because he is still their cherished idol.

Even though thinking about death or feeling close to Morrison was not creepy for the fans, they expressed that it was rather sad. Biran, Poria, and Oren (2011) argued that there are many motivations to participate in dark tourism, wanting to feel emotions was especially predominant according to them. They specified the need for understanding and to get a connection to the history and story of the grave, and my findings align with this part of their discourse. It appears that the fans seek out a connection to Morrison, the auratic presence, and to what he represents. Morrison is of course a celebrity and there is thus a para-social and symbolic element to this type of tourism. Because of this para-social relationship (Laing & Frost, 2018), the fans are emotionally invested in Morrison, and he forms an important part of their personal lives. For example, they call him a friend or refer to him as if he is part of their family. Moreover, they seek to be closer to him and understand him better at his gravesite. Jim Morrison is an icon, he means many things for many people. He can be a myth for freedom or for being themselves. Important to mention that in this case the connection was found towards two different objectives, with Morrison and with other fans. The latter was also an important motivation, and the majority gave optimistic reactions to being able to meet, unite, talk and connect with other like-minded people. Meeting other people gave physical form to the existence of their imagined community and made them feel even more happy that they are a member of this community. The grave is therefore an important place to relate to Morrison and his fandom. Feeling the auratic presence and a connection defines their identity as fans, it helps them to feel part of The Doors fandom and it gives confidence in their day-to-day lives.

There is another important aspect to the strong connection that they feel, because some fans felt the auratic presence so much that it can lead to a point of catharsis. A few fans noticed that they had gone through a personal growth, and that was mainly because they had a very strong connection to Morrison. For instance, Rosy felt as if she was the same as Morrison and going to the grave is therefore weighed down with grief. Yet, visiting a dark tourism site is an opportunity for relief, or a way to deal with years of grief, and helps with healing. This is a by-product, and it is not expected before the visit. It is something that gives the tourist experience a unique layer, and it is very individual. The main difference between the fans who experienced catharsis and the fans who did not, is that the former saw the place as a sort of sacred space, and consequently stayed in their own space. They did not touch anything, nor did they talk to other people. Fan tourists can thus find their own catharsis when visiting deceased celebrities (Giddens, 1991). The fans that did not feel a sense of catharsis often wanted to talk to other people. Additionally, they could also have an emotional experience, like crying or feeling somber, as Osbaldiston

and Petray (2011) had argued. Some tourists indeed had a strong emotional response, such as feeling overwhelmed or feeling very sad. In addition to that, the fans felt positive emotions, because the idea of seeing the grave came with a lot of excitement and anticipation. My results also more specifically showed that the fans who experienced catharsis also felt very fortunate, for them had the visit an additional, more emotionally fulfilling, layer of meaning. This contributes to the knowledge that dark tourism has a unique character (Causevic & Lynch, 2011) and gives a perspective on the possible effects of celebrity grave tourism.

Young and Light (2016) mainly focus on cemeteries as social spaces, although the sacred quality of the place that the fans experience is also not mentioned. While the respondents give the place a sacred meaning, this sacredness is not coming from the place itself. The cemetery Père-Lachaise represents more than just a place to visit, for the reason that Morrison is buried there. Margry's (2008) research also focused on this, and although no fan has stated clearly that they consider the place sacred, this can be inferred by the interpreted data, as consciously or unconsciously the tourism performances at the place mirror patterns that are usually found in sacred spaces. The cemetery can be considered as a place for performative acts, as defined by Young and Light (2016). A good example is the need to leave memorabilia for Morrison as a sign of respect and because they believe that he would have appreciate this. His spiritual presence makes the location sacred. What they give is also related to the perception that the fans have of Morrison, thus the gravesite is a part of the image that the fans have of a celebrity. Being close to Morrison also gives the opportunity to express their agency in relation to Morrison's memory, yet this was not a motivation to travel but something mentioned in hindsight.

Generalising the outcomes of this research for the whole community of fans is not possible, as only a small sample of partakers has been interviewed. This was of course not the goal of this qualitative study (Bengtsson, 2016), but it is most definitely a limitation. However, the data showed many commonalities and broader threads that underlie fans' practices and give more insight into their motivations. This research has a broad academic relevance, as it is part of fan tourism, dark tourism and tourism motivations. Since The Doors still have an important status as a legendary band and an intergenerational appeal, a broad age group of fans has been interviewed. Yet a limitation is that I could not reach fans in their thirties. It is unfortunate that this group is missing from the research since I did find fans in their twenties and forties, fifties and sixties. A larger sample of fans would be a good addition to this research.

Another suggestion for future research would be to further concentrate on the actual practices of the visitors. Now I have only focused on certain practices in relation to motivation, but there are much more interesting customs that the fans carry out. An example is praying or talking about Morrison with the companion that accompanies the fan on the visit. Moreover, a comparative study may be beneficial to further examine motivations of all the visitors of Morrison's grave. By comparing the motivations and experiences of people who identify as fans to people who are not fans of The Doors and Jim Morrison, there will even be a greater understanding of this dark tourism practice. The meaning that they ascribe to the visit will also be different and very interesting to compare. I found that the fans are very passionate and enjoy talking about Morrison, so the research can best be carried out via interviews. It may be concluded that Morrison moves his fans, even when he is six feet underground.

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## **Appendix A**

These are the instruments used during the interviews.

### **Questionnaire.**

#### *Socio-demographic information.*

What is your name?

What is your age?

What is your gender?

What is your nationality?

What is your city of residence at the moment?

What is your occupation?

What education did you have?

#### *Affinity with Jim Morrison.*

1. We found each other on a Facebook page for fans of Jim Morrison, what was the reason that you joined this group in the first place?
2. Can you tell me why you became a fan of The Doors? How about a fan of Jim Morrison?
3. What does Jim Morrison means to you?

#### *Motivations.*

4. What attracted you to the grave of Jim Morrison in Paris?
5. How long have you known you wanted to visit the grave?
6. What did you expect before you went to the grave?

#### *Experiences.*

7. Can you describe Père-Lachaise and the way that you where feeling?
8. How did you feel standing in front of the grave of Morrison? What were you thinking / what were you feeling?
9. Did you leave anything at the grave?
10. Did you do anything while you were at the gravesite?
11. Was there anyone else at the grave?
12. How did you feel when you left the cemetery?

*Reflection.*

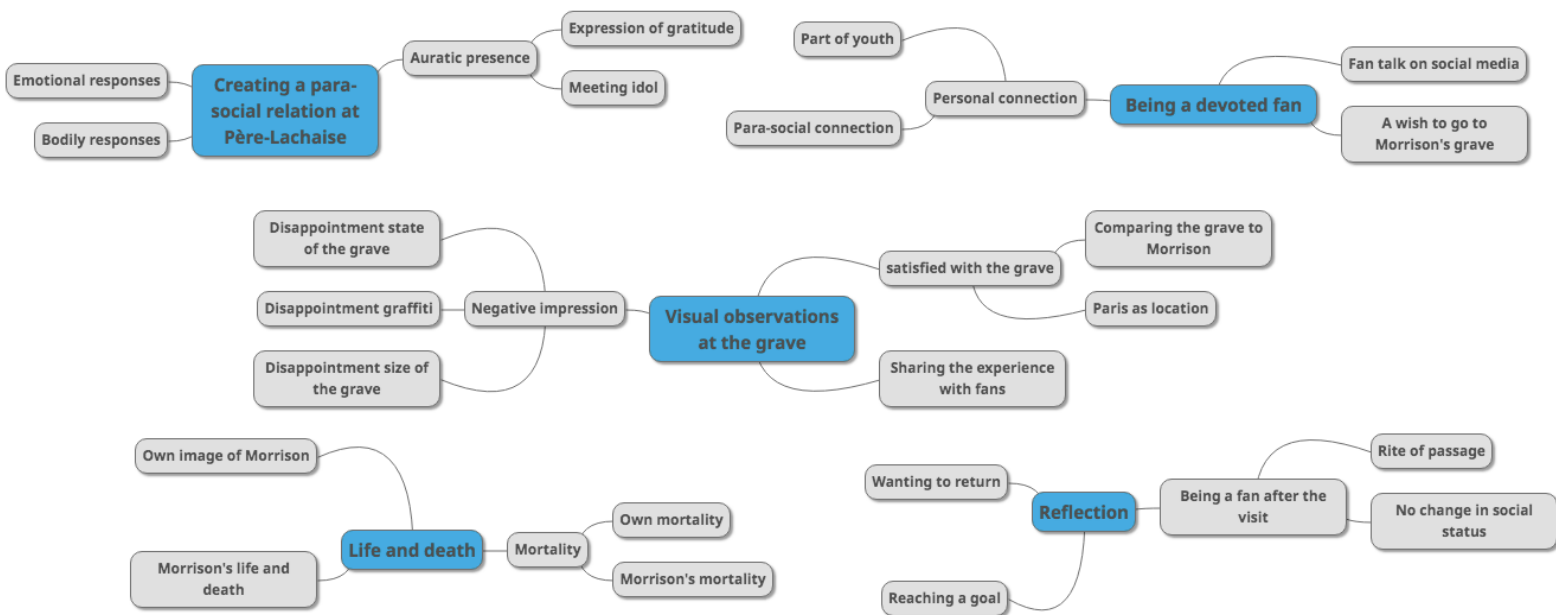
13. Do you ever think back to your visit to Morrison's grave?
14. Was visiting the grave something that you did for yourself or for Jim?
15. Did you feel like a different fan after you visited his grave?

**Field notes template.**

- Impression of character.
- Nonverbal communication.
  - Body posture.
  - Facial expression.
  - Eye contact.
  - Hand gestures.
- Tone of voice.
  - Is the person able to express themselves easily?
- Location.
  - Camera angle.
  - What is visible of the environment?
  - Sounds.
- Disturbances.
- Length of the interview.

## Appendix B

Coding tree with the themes and codes that have been given during the analysis of the interviews.



## Appendix C

Socio-demographic information of the interviewees.

- Rosy:

Age: 58 years.

Gender: Female.

Nationality: Italian.

City of residence: London.

Occupation: Hotel, housekeeper.

Education: High school and training to work in hotels.

- Aphrodite:

Age: 28 years.

Gender: Female.

Nationality: Greek.

City of residence: Berlin.

Occupation: Opera singer.

Education: Bachelor on singing and a master on singing.

- Reginald:

Age: 57 years.

Gender: Male.

Nationality: Dutch.

City of residence: Rotterdam.

Occupation: Sports instructor.

Education: Diploma sports instructor.

- Loic:

Age: 29 years.

Gender: Male.

Nationality: French.

City of residence: Bordeaux.

Occupation: Chess teacher.

Education: Bachelor in law.

- Pauline:

Age: 68 years.

Gender: Female.

Nationality: British.

City of residence: Stourport-on-Severn.

Occupation: Retired, but worked for the local council.

Education: Left school at 16.

- Mirelle:

Age: 48 years.

Gender: Female.

Nationality: Dutch.

City of residence: Rotterdam.

Occupation: Teamleader customer service for CMA CGM (sea transport).

Education: Secondary vocational education.

- Angela:

Age: 53 years.

Gender: Female.

Nationality: Canadian.

City of residence: Athena.

Occupation: Claim handler for shipping company.

Education: Law degree.

- Marty:

Age: 61 years.

Gender: Male.

Nationality: American.

City of residence: Houston.

Occupation: Offshore gas and pipelines.

Education: Civil Engineering degree.

- Paul:

Age: 61 years.

Gender: Male.

Nationality: Dutch.

City of residence: Whitby.

Occupation: Job in maritime.

Education: Nautical school.

- Chris:

Age: 52 years.

Gender: Male.

Nationality: American.

City of residence: Philadelphia.

Occupation: Retired firefighter and Navy veteran.

Education: High school and US Navy.

- Wendy:

Age: 42 years.

Gender: Female.  
Nationality: Dutch.  
City of residence: Den Haag.  
Occupation: Self-employed nurse.  
Education: Higher Professional (Nurse) Education.

- Stephen:  
Age: 40 years.  
Gender: Male.  
Nationality: British.  
City of residence: Wigan.  
Occupation: College teacher (catering and hospitality).  
Education: College education.

- Anoushka:  
Age: 40 years.  
Gender: Female.  
Nationality: British.  
City of residence: Grays.  
Occupation: Pizza delivery driver.  
Education: Studying for a psychology degree.